

en tirer des conclusions sur l'importance respective de chaque personnage, ou plutôt de sa fonction, dans la Nippur du temps. Le fait qu'à l'époque cassite du moins certaines de ces fonctions aient pu être exercées simultanément ou successivement par le même personnage<sup>47</sup>, montre d'ailleurs qu'il faut se défier de toute conclusion trop hâtive ; le « système », s'il y en avait un, ne devait pas être rigide.

On peut penser que richesse et pouvoir devaient être partagés entre quelques familles, l'insécurité de l'époque et ses conséquences économiques favorisant comme toujours la concentration et le renforcement des pouvoirs locaux. On voit ici, par exemple, comment le *šandabakku* pouvait à la fois augmenter son prestige et agrandir son patrimoine foncier, qu'il profite de la désertion des campagnes au profit des villes pour spéculer, ou qu'il serve d'intermédiaire indispensable et de protecteur des faibles. J'ai même avancé plus haut l'hypothèse que les *šandabakku* lorsqu'il y en avait, et ce texte montre que leur apparente disparition entre l'époque cassite et le I<sup>er</sup> millénaire peut n'être due qu'à la carence des sources, provenaient peut-être d'une même famille, dont l'onomastique, bien que liée aussi à Nippur, révélerait et perpétuerait en quelque sorte les attaches, sinon les origines cassites<sup>48</sup>.

47. *PHPKB* 300, n. 1970 ; Petschow, *Or NS*, 52, 146.

48. *PHPKB* 206 s. et plus haut n. 26. C'est peut-être un hasard mais on peut noter que le père du premier témoin, personnage qui devait être important puisqu'il est cité en tête mais qui n'exerçait apparemment aucune fonction, s'appelait Enlil-kidinni, comme le *šandabakku* du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle.

## A BABYLONIAN OMEN TEXT FROM SUSIANA

by Robert D. BIGGS and Matthew W. STOLPER (Chicago)

To the memory of Pablo Herrero

While Henry Wright and Gregory Johnson were surveying Uruk-period sites in Susiana in 1970, an itinerant merchant brought them the fragmentary text edited here<sup>1</sup>. Wright asked about the text's provenience; he was told that it had been found a short time before by a shepherd boy at the site called Chogha Pahn West (KS-3), some three kilometers from the encounter with the merchant. Although the fragment lacks even a single complete line and confident restoration of its text is difficult, its probable origin at Chogha Pahn and its similarity to the extraordinary texts published in *MDP 57* give it some historical significance. The two authors, after studying the fragment independently, have decided to combine their efforts.

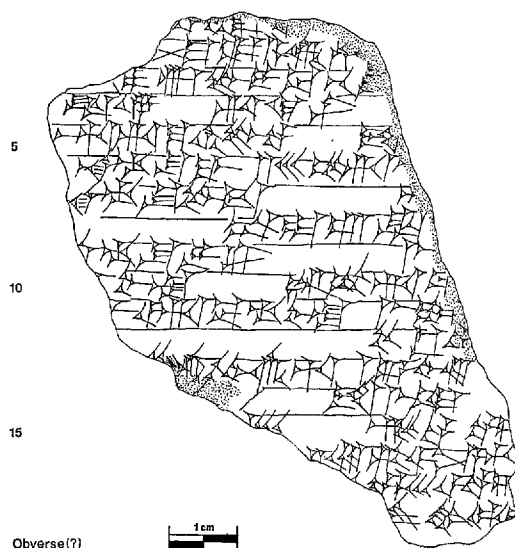
### TRANSLITERATION

Obverse(?)

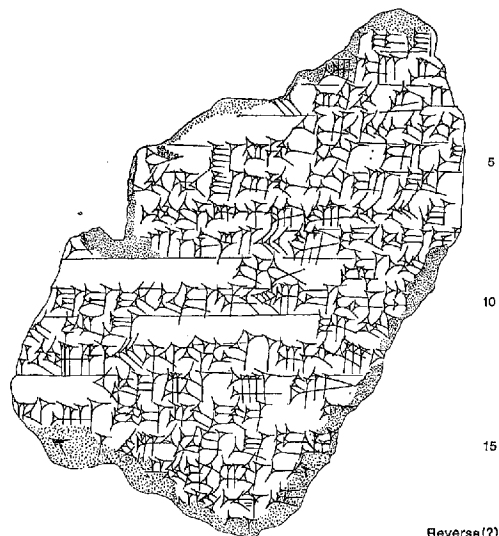
beginning destroyed

- 1 (traces)
- 2 [ ] KÚR ÉŠ SAG-a iḫ-ḫa-[ba-tam-ma ....]
- 3 [ UD(?)=m]i NUN-bu i-BA.TIL X [....]
- 4 [ ] ŠU+NIGÍN 10,7 ri-qi-tu<sub>x</sub>(DÚ) [....]
- 5 [DIŠ ... UZU GIM ḫa]-aš-ḫu-ri ku-up-pu-ut Á.[DAM.MEŠ-a ....]
- 6 [DIŠ ... UGU mi]-na-ti-šu GAL 2,30 GABA.RI N[U TUK ....]
- 7 [DIŠ ... UGU mi]-na-ti-šu GÍD.DA [a][....]
- 8 [ ] DU AD ú-ŠU+NIGÍN [....]
- 9 [DIŠ ... UGU mi-n]a-ti-šu TUR-ir me-[ne-[eš-ti(?) KUR-a(?)]
- 10 [DIŠ ... UGU mi-na-ti-šu] SAL.LA EN SISKUR.RE BA.[ÚŠ ....]
- 11 [DIŠ ... GIM X X] X-ar-ba-ti SAL.LA me-ne-[eš-ti(?) ....]
- 12 [ ] KUR NIGÍN ERÍN [....]
- 13 [ ] p[u-uh]-pu-uh-ḫu DIŠ KALA.SAL šà [....]
- 14 [ ] X Á.ME-ka [....]
- 15 [ ] .[MEŠ] ZI-ut ERÍN.M[EŠ(?) KÚR ....]
- 16 [ ] [a] šà BI(?) IGI KÚR-a ḫ[u(?) ....]

1. The original text is in the Muzeh-e Irān-e Bāstān, Tehran. The copy was drawn from casts and photographs supplied by Henry Wright, with help from a preliminary copy by Robert M. Schacht.



Obverse(?)



Reverse(?)

[RA 77-1983]

A BABYLONIAN OMEN TEXT FROM SUSIANA

157

17 [ ] ERÍN.MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>-t[a ....]  
18 [ ] KASKAL ĠIR SILIM(?) [....]

rest destroyed

Reverse(?)

beginning destroyed

1 [ ] x išu [....]  
2 [ ] i-bi]-[su<sup>1</sup>-ú Ġ.G[ÁL(?) ....]  
3 [ ] ÚŠ.M]EŠ TA KUR Ġ.GÁ[L.MEŠ ....]  
4 [ ] ar-bu-ut ERÍN.[MEŠ KÚR ....]  
5 [ ] KUR] KÚR ÉŠ KALA.SAL-ša<sub>4</sub> ú-šu+[NIGÍN ....]  
6 [ ] K]ÚR KUR-ti ÉŠ KALA.SAL-ša<sub>4</sub> ú-šu+NIGÍN [....]  
7 [ ] ne-en]-mu-du<sub>x</sub>(UD) TUK DINGIR LÚ LÚ bu-še-šu [....]  
8 [ ] x [ ] -r]a(?) -a-tu<sub>x</sub> GAR 2,30 LÚ i-UGU x [....]  
9 [ ] ERÍN KÚR URU-MU [NIGÍN-mi(?) ....]  
10 [ ] -ba(?) -ma UZU ka-ti-im-ma ĠIM MU[L ....]  
11 [ ] x EN-šu iš-te-[ne-e ....]  
12 [ ] x SUD A.MEŠ ħu-ud ša<sub>4</sub> DIŠ KALA.SAL ša x [....]  
13 [ ] UGU TA É LÚ [....]  
14 [ ] ša(?)]-[ri(?)<sup>1</sup>-ip IZI GÁL IZI x [....]  
15 [ ] x NÍ UGU-šu i-šu[B ....]  
16 [ ] ZI.GA TA x [....]  
17 [ ] ĠI.NA i-[....]

rest destroyed

# TRANSLATION

Obverse(?)

2 [....], the enemy will make an incursion into my land(?) [and will ....]  
3 [.... the day]s of the ruler will come to an end(?) [....]  
4 [....] .... [....]  
5 [If the ....] is compacted [like an a]pple, my outlying [areas will ....]  
6 [If the ....] is larger than normal, the king will [have n]o rival [....]  
7 [If the ...] is longer than normal, the god [DN will ....]  
8 [....] .... will gather(?) [....]  
9 [If the .... is] smaller than normal, weak[ening(?) of my country(?) ....]  
10 [If the .... is] thinner [than normal], the owner of the sacrificial lamb [will die ....]  
11 [If the ....] is as thin as the ... of a ...., weak[ening(?) of ....]  
12 [....], the land(?) will gather(?), the troops [will ....]  
13 [....], strife; alternatively: a fortress of(?) [....]  
14 [....], your clan(?) [will ....]

- 15 [....], uprising of the [enemy's] troops, [....]  
 16 [....] .... [....]  
 17 [....], the troops [will experience(?) good fortune, [....]  
 18 [....] road, foot-(mark indicating) well-being(?), [....]  
 rest destroyed  
 Reverse(?)  
 2 [...., financial los]ses(?) will oc[cur(?) ....]  
 3 [...., pl]ague will occur in the land [....]  
 4 [....], rout of the [enemy] troops, [....]  
 5 [....], I will force the [land] of my enemy to gather in its stronghold, [....]  
 6 [....], the enemy will force my land to gather in its stronghold, [....]  
 7 [If the ....] touch each other(?), good luck for a man, a man [will ....] his  
 possessions, [....]  
 8 [If ....] there is a ...., the king will summon(?) a man [....]  
 9 [....], the enemy troops [will surround(?) my city, [....]  
 10 [If the ...] .... and it is covered with flesh and [....] like a star, [....]  
 11 [...., the ....] will seek his lord's [....]  
 12 [....] ...., joy, alternatively: the stronghold of(?) [....]  
 13 [....] ...., in a man's house [there will be ....]  
 14 [If the .... is colored r]ed(?), fire will occur(?), fire [....]  
 15 [....], panic will fall upon him, [....]  
 16 [....], losses(?) [will occur] in [....]  
 17 [....], truth(?) .... [....]  
 rest destroyed

## COMMENTARY

## Obverse(?)

2. Cf. ERIN KUR.MEŠ ÉŠ KUR-a iḫ-ḫa-ba-tam-ma, "enemy troops will make an incursion into my land", *MDP* 57, 3:3 ff., and nakru ana mātija iḫḫabbat (*passim* in SB extispicy). Hence it is inviting to postulate that sag-a = kur-a = mātija, although no explanation of sag = mātu is evident and other lines of this text (r.(?) 3 and 6) use kur for mātu. Alternatively, sag for zag = pātu?

3. The restoration is questionable on grammatical grounds, but cf. UD-um NUN-be KI DINGIR ga-am-ru, "the time of the prince is finished according to the will of the god", *MDP* 57, 4, r. 26, and comparable apodoses in SB extispicy, physiognomic texts, and Izbu, cited CAD s.v. gamāru, mng. 2b. Another possibility might be to read [....] GI<sub>6</sub> (= tarik) NUN-bu i-BA.ÚŠ (= imāt), ["If the ....] is dark, the prince will die".

4. The numeral 17 is perhaps a scribal error for 15 = imittu or 16 = šumēlu, *passim* in *MDP* 57 3 and 9 (see Labat, *MDP* 57, p. 5).

5. For the protasis, cf. UZU GIM GIŠ.ḪAŠḪUR kup-pu-ut, "(if) there is a piece of flesh compacted like an apple", *TCL* 6, 1:41 f. (SB ext.); UZU GIM kuptatinni ku-pu-ut-ma, "(if) there is a piece of flesh compacted like a pellet", *MDP* 57, 4, r. 21; and UZU GIM NA<sub>4</sub> ŠAL.LU.RU nasiḫ, "(if) a piece of flesh like a plum(?) pit is detached", *ibid.*, r. 22. The restoration of the apodosis is a conjecture based on occurrences of A.DAM = namū in *MDP* 57, 6 i 27, 38, and elsewhere.

6. The writing 2,30 (also in r.(?) 8) for the common "Elamite" 3,20 = "king" is otherwise peculiar to *MDP* 57, 3 and 9. This fragment also shares with those two texts the orthographic peculiarities DU = ša<sub>4</sub> and NÚ = tu<sub>x</sub>. On the earliest uses of 3,20 ("EŠŠANA") = šarru, see M.-J. Steve, H. Gasche, and L. De Meyer, *Iranica Antiqua* 15 (1980), 99; note also 3,20-ru-mu-uš-ta-al in the Old Babylonian(?) legal text *MDP* 23, 176:2. Scheil's comment on the latter, explaining 3,20 as 180 × 30 = 3,600 = šar anticipates Nougayrol's comments on 3,20 = 2,30 = šarru in the *MDP* 57 omen texts (*RA* 66 [1972], 96 sub 12).

7. One expects an apodosis such as Nergal ikkal or Adad irāḫḫis; cf. *MDP* 57, 6 i 17, ii 33 and 44, iii 22 f. and 49, etc. (extispicy).

10. Cf. *MDP* 57, 3, r. 13; read EN SISKUR.RE (= bēl niqī) with W. Farber, *BiOr* 34 (1977), 341.

11. The traces exclude the restoration [x x š]a-ar-ba-ti, ["the ....] of a Euphrates poplar". For the apodosis, cf. KUR 2,30 me-ne-eš-tam IG<sub>1</sub> *MDP* 57, 3:51, etc.

13. We take DIŠ to be šumma, "alternatively". Compare the end of the line with r.(?) 12, but note that the texts in *MDP* 57 that use ša<sub>4</sub> also use ša<sub>4</sub> = libbu but not ša or šā.

14. A.ME = tillatu in, for example, *MDP* 57, 10 r. 2 and 19 (Izbu, 4:33, and 6 iv 41 (despite Labat; see *AHW.*, 1358b). Apodoses referring to second persons are rare in the *MDP* 57 texts but not absent; examples are 3 r. 17, 5:17 and r. 13 and 15, and 6 i 46.

18. Cf. GIR [SILIM(?)]-mi, *MDP* 57, 6 iii 37.

## Reverse(?)

5 f. For similar apodoses, see *MDP* 57, 3:26 and 38; for comparable Mesopotamian omens, see *ibid.*, p. 78, and nakru mātā ana dannati upaḫḫar, *RA* 65, 73:25 f. (Old Babylonian extispicy).

7. For [ne-en]-mu-du<sub>x</sub>(UD)—or dual -da<sub>x</sub>(TAM)—cf. *MDP* 57, 3 r. 23 and W. Farber, *BiOr* 34 (1977), 340. For the beginning(?) of the apodosis cf. TUK DINGIR DIŠ (= raši il amēli), *MDP* 57, 9:30 and *passim* in that text, and note the form of the sign TUK in 3 r. 13, 34, etc. For the continuation, cf. LÚ bu-še-šu i-TIL, "a man will squander his possessions", *MDP* 57, 3:45.

11. Cf. SUKKAL GIŠ.GU.ZA be-li-šu iš-te-né-e, "the sukkallu-official will attempt to take his master's throne", *YOS* 10, 24:2, also *ibid.*, 26 i 12. The traces at the beginning of this line, however, appear to be parts of neither GIŠ.GU.ZA nor 1,20 (= kussū in *MDP* 57, 3 and 9).

The fragment comes from the middle of a large tablet. Since no beginnings of protases are preserved, even the type of omen collection to which it belongs is uncertain. Nevertheless, the protases, insofar as they are interpretable, are typical of extispicy

texts and not, for example, of Alu or physiognomic omens. The apodoses, as restored, are at least consistent with the supposition that the fragment comes from an extispicy text. A few of the apodoses resemble especially closely those of the extispicy text *MDP* 57, 3, and the nearest parallels we have found in Mesopotamian omen collections are protases in *TCL* 6, 1, a text describing the sheep's liver (amātu). It is quite likely that the Chogha Pahn text also describes a feature of the liver. In obverse(?) 6-10 [eli mī]nātišu indicates that the feature described is grammatically masculine (despite šumma amātu . . . eli mīnātišu, *TCL* 6 1:4). Cf. 1GI.TAB with masculine concord in *MDP* 57, 5 *passim*, hence probably to be read naplāsu (Labat, *MDP* 57, p. 123), and similarly DIŠ 1GI.TAB kalušu = šumma naplāsu kalušu, H. T. 152:7 (unpublished extispicy text from Haft Tepe, courtesy of Pablo Herrero).

The resemblance of this text's contents, ductus, and orthography to those of the omen texts from Susa, and especially to those of *MDP* 57, 3, is pronounced and quite specific. The Chogha Pahn fragment does not join or duplicate any of the *MDP* 57 texts, but it is clearly another document of similar date and scholarly background. But the date and background of the Susa texts themselves are matters of some uncertainty.

Since the Chogha Pahn fragment is a surface find, it is of no direct help in dating the *MDP* 57 omen texts. Those texts, in turn, come from a stratigraphically imprecise context, cached in a pit dug into Ville Royale A.XII from an uncertain later level. Labat was accordingly guarded in his estimate of their date: they were deposited in the pit after the middle of the second millennium, and they were written at some time after the end of the Old Babylonian period, but earlier than the time of the Middle Babylonian compilations on which the canonical SB omen series were based<sup>2</sup>. Steve, Gasche, and De Meyer recently reconsidered the stratigraphy of the pit in which the texts were found and re-evaluated the texts' paleography and orthography in comparison with stratified documents from Susa and Haft Tepe. Admitting lack of positive proof, they concluded that the cache was probably made during the hiatus between Ville Royale A.XI and A.X, hence before the twelfth century, and that the texts were probably written during the occupation of A.XI, hence in the century before the time of the Haft Tepe texts<sup>3</sup>. Since the Haft Tepe texts are tentatively dated by a probable mention of Kadašman-Enlil I to ca. 1365<sup>4</sup>,

2. R. Labat and D. O. Edzard, *Textes littéraires de Suse, Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique en Iran*, 57 (Paris, 1974) [cited here as *MDP* 57], p. 2 and 5 f.; see the review by W. Farber, in *BiOr* 34 (1977), 340 ff.

3. *Iranica Antiqua* 15 (1980), 98 f. and 123 f.

4. P. Herrero, *DAFI* 6 (1976), 93 and 112; cf. J. A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, vol. 1 (Chicago, 1976), 144. In favor of the identification of Kadašman-<sup>3</sup>KUR.GAL as Kadašman-Enlil is the use of Sumerian <sup>4</sup>En-IlI corresponding to <sup>3</sup>KUR.GAL in the Akkadian of the bilingual text *MDP* 57, 1 i 5 ff., cf. iv 38.

the *MDP* 57 texts are thus attributed to the late fifteenth or early fourteenth centuries. Despite its uncertainties, this dating satisfies diverse archaeological and textual conditions, making it the best available working estimate. The same estimate applies to the date of the Chogha Pahn fragment.

The chief interest of the fragment is in its probable provenience, a site of considerable importance. Chogha Pahn West is about 23 kilometers east of Susa and about 29 kilometers southeast of Dezfūl. It is divided in two by the river Ojirub (Āb-e Ghairub), which flows south into the left bank of the Diz. From the vicinity of the site several routes cross the eastern plains of Khuzistan to the Bakhtiari mountains and the passes which lead to the interior highlands of Fars. The part of the site located on the western bank of the Ojirub was newly settled in the early first millennium. The part on the eastern bank, covering ca. 10-20 hectares, was occupied from the late third millennium through the entire second millennium. It is the largest second millennium site in central Susiana, the area east of the Diz. Among the contemporary sites of the middle and late second millennium in other parts of Khuzistan, only Susa, Chogha Zanbil, and Haft Tepe are larger<sup>5</sup>.

To judge by its size, location, and duration, Chogha Pahn was a district political center. It was also a district religious center: inscribed bricks found at the site in 1974 bear texts of Shilhak-Inshushinak I (ca. 1150 B.C.) commemorating his reconstruction of at least one temple, dedicated to Inshushinak and Lakamar, originally built by an unknown earlier ruler<sup>6</sup>. The omen fragment, if it is correctly attributed to Chogha Pahn, adds evidence of scholarly activity at the site well before the reign of Shilhak-Inshushinak. It also confirms that the extraordinary characteristics of the *MDP* 57 texts are, as Labat suggested, marks of a genuine peripheral scholarship, one which was not confined to Susa but was also practiced and transmitted at other major towns in the region.

Further support for this view comes from H. T. 152, an unpublished extispicy

5. R. McC. Adams, *Science* 136 (1962), 109-122; Elizabeth Carter, *Elam in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1971), 135 ff.; Robert M. Schacht, *Preliminary Investigations at Chogha Pahn (KS-3)*, paper presented to the IVth Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran (Tehran, 1975); P. de Miroschedji, *DAFI* 12 (1981), 170 ff.

6. M. Stolper, *DAFI* 8 (1978), 89-93. See p. 93 for a qualified suggestion that Chogha Pahn was Middle Elamite Pit-Hulmi, a place named as the site of a temple of Lakamar rebuilt by Shilhak-Inshushinak (*MDP* 5, 71 ii 78 = König, *Afo Beih.* 16, 48 § 28). Compare, on the one hand, the place name Bi-it Ħul-bi in Old Babylonian texts from Susa (*MDP* 28, 479, 484, 489, 515, 551, and especially gugallu (KUR.GAL) u ħupšarru PN ša Bi-it Ħul-bi, *MDP* 28 441:6, parallel to Gapnak (= Haft Tepe?), *ibid.*, 3); and, on the other hand, the place name E Ħu-lum-mu in an unpublished Neo-Babylonian text dated in the first year of the seventh century Elamite king Ħallušu (*PTS* 2713, courtesy E. Leichty). If these Old Babylonian, Middle Elamite, and Neo-Babylonian spellings all refer to a single place, that place is at least attested during periods in which there was a significant occupation at Chogha Pahn West.

text from Haft Tepe, which we cite with permission from copies given to us by the late Pablo Herrero. Its ductus is the same as that of the Haft Tepe administrative texts, and its approximate date is therefore the same. Like the *MDP* 57 and Chogha Pahn texts, it has no extensive parallels among SB omen collections from Mesopotamia. It uses at least two logographic writings otherwise peculiar to the *MDP* 57 texts (IGI.TAB = naplāsu, cf. *MDP* 57, 5, *passim*, and p. 123; and GAM-mu = kamū, cf. *MDP* 57, p. 76), and at least one similar coinage (AŠ.DE = AŠ.TE = kussū; cf. *MDP* 57, p. 4).

Even if such logograms adapted from orthodox Mesopotamian writings were the result of learned play, they were nevertheless widely used and understood. Two of them also occur in the Middle Babylonian dream omens from Susa<sup>7</sup>. Indeed, the pattern of such coinages was persistent in the region, and it was not confined to scholarly texts in Akkadian. Scheil remarked on comparable adaptations of Sumero-grams in first millennium Elamite administrative texts from Susa<sup>8</sup>, and Elamite administrative texts from Tall-i Malyan in Fars, probably written near the end of the second millennium, use two similar writings<sup>9</sup>.

The contents of the Chogha Pahn, Haft Tepe, and *MDP* 57 omen texts are wholly Mesopotamian in character. But despite parallels for individual protases or apodoses, the texts have no extensive counterparts among known Mesopotamian omen collections. In this shared general characteristic they contrast with the Susa Middle Babylonian dream omens, which differ little in content and arrangement from a Mesopotamian tradition recorded in MB and SB texts<sup>10</sup>.

The Chogha Pahn fragment in effect extends questions which the *MDP* 57 texts raised. Akkadian omen scholarship was evidently transmitted at several major towns in Khuzistan, perhaps as early as the late fifteenth or early fourteenth centuries. It produced texts which share distinctive formal characteristics and which diverge from known Mesopotamian omen traditions. The divergence may be the result of transmission through unknown Mesopotamian sources; but it may equally well be the result of a regional scholarly development which took place at a time when Mesopotamian canons were not yet established, and which was cut off from or ignored by later Middle Babylonian scholarship.

7. KALA.SAL for SAL.KALA = dannatu, *MDP* 14, 50 i 7 and 55 r. i 23; and LAL.DU for LAL.DU = lapānu, *ibid.*, 50 i 16 l., ii 6, 55 r. i 15, and ii 10; cf. Labat, *MDP* 57, p. 4 and 193.

8. E.GAL for É.GAL, month name PAR for BĀR, month name KAM for GĀN, divine name PIRIG.GÁL for PIRIG.GÁL, GIŠ.ŠU.DIŠ for GIŠ.ŠU.TAŠ; cf. *MDP* 9, p. 14.

9. PI + PIR for KURU (IGI + PIR) and LAL.Ú for LAL.Ú; see M. Stolper, *Texts from Tall-i Malyan, I* (in press).

10. A. L. Oppenheim, *Dream-book*, 257 and 259. Note also the Old Babylonian (?) eclipse-omen fragment from Susa with parallels to Enūma Anu Enlil, *MDP* 18, 258 = RA 14, 140.

## COMPLÉMENTS A LA TOPOGRAPHIE D'URUK AU TEMPS DE LA FERME GÉNÉRALE<sup>1</sup>

par D. COCQUERILLAT

Dans mon article de « Compléments à la topographie d'Uruk au temps de la Ferme générale », je déplorais que les textes signalés par Goetze dans une étude de chronologie<sup>2</sup> ne soient pas encore publiés. A peu près en même temps que ces regrets, D. B. Weissberg faisait paraître dans *YOS* XVII la plupart de ces documents<sup>3</sup>. Récemment encore, M. Stol, de Leiden, a eu la gentillesse de me faire parvenir la copie et la transcription d'une reconnaissance de dette de dattes d'Uruk de l'année de Nabuchodonosor IV appartenant aux collections de Leiden [LB 1687]. On peut y ajouter enfin le document de la 2<sup>e</sup> année de Cambyse publié par J.-M. Durand<sup>4</sup>. Cet important apport de données résumées dans le tableau ci-joint<sup>5</sup> renouvelle le problème

1. Cf. RA 75, 1981, p. 151-169; et articles suivants.

2. A. Goetze, Additions to Parker and Dubberstein's Babylonian Chronology, *JNES* III, 1944, p. 43-46.

3. D. B. Weissberg, Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar, *YOS* XVII, 1980.

4. J.-M. Durand, *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente, Recherches sur les grandes civilisations*, Cahier n° 6, Paris, Ed. ADPF, 1981, p. 87 [AO 19927].

5. Cf. tableau joint et notes suivantes au tableau. Le scribe de 23 de ces documents est Šil-la-a, fils de mdinnin<sup>2a</sup>. MU.URU, descendant de ki-din-<sup>1</sup>Marduk; dans deux d'entre eux (*YOS* XVII, n° 35, et *BIN* I, n° 99), documents rédigés aux environs de la ville de Kurbat, il est remplacé par mdinnin<sup>2a</sup>.MU.URU, fils de mdU.GUR-UŠUR.

Trois textes apportent des précisions sur l'âge des plantations.

N° 291 :

1) 150 KUR ZU.LUM.MA ZAG A.ŠA

2) ŠA mdNĀ.MU.GIN U GIŠ GIŠIMMAR P[Š za-]ru-tu

3) 10[+] à 150

\* 150 KUR de dattes, estimation forfaitaire de la parcelle (dite) de Nabû-šum-ukīn et des palmiers rejoints et de reproduction (aux nombres respectifs) de 10 [+] et 150 \*;

N° 293 :

1) 115 KUR ZU.LUM.MA A.ŠA GAL<sup>1</sup>

2) 15 KUR GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR TUR.TUR<sup>meš</sup> a-di 7 KUR ŠA mkal-ba-a

3) PAB 130 KUR...

\* 115 KUR de dattes de la Grande parcelle, 15 KUR (de dattes) des petits palmiers, y compris 7 KUR de mkal-ba-a, total : 130 KUR (de dattes) \*;

N° 296 :

1) 5 KUR 2/5 3/30 ZU.LUM.MA i-mit A.ŠA

2) ŠA GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR TUR.TUR<sup>meš</sup>...

\* 5 KUR 2/5 3/30 de dattes, estimation forfaitaire de la parcelle de petits palmiers \*.